

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08

TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05 /127 W

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R 010027Z DEC 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8085

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 5126

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAHGS: UNGA, RH

SUBJ: FOURTH COMMITTEE - RHODESIA DEBATE I

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

SUMMARY. RHODESIAN DEBATE BEGAN NOVEMBER 30 WITH STATEMENTS BY UK, PATRIOTIC FRONT, REVEREND MICHAEL SCOTT, AND BERNARD RIVERS. UK REP RICHARD STRESSED UK/US INITIATIVE BOTH SOUND AND ONGOING, RJECTED EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS TIME, AND URGED CAUTION RE SMITH INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS UNTIL DETAILS AVAILABLE. PF SPOKESMAN LISTED PF OBJECTIONS TO UK/US PLAN, CRITICIZED US INVOLVEMENT, AND CATEGORIZED SMITH PROPOSALS AS ATTEMPT TO PROVOKE CIVIL WAR. RIVERS CALLED FOR EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS AS PROMISED BY USG IN VIEW OF FAILURE OF UK/US INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.

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1. AFTER PRO FORMA INTRODUCTION OF RHODESIAN ITEM BY FOURTH COMMITTEE RAPPORTUER, BRITISH AMBASSADOR RICHARD DELIVERED LENGTHY STATEMENT AS ADMINISTERING POWER IN RHODESIA. RICHARD GAVE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF NEGOTIATIONS AND UK ACTIONS DURING PAST YEAR, EXPLAINED WHITE PAPER IN SOME DETAIL, AND SUPPORTED SETTLEMENT BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF WHITE PAPER.

RICHARD REITERATED DAVE OWEN JUNE 9 STATEMENT TO COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE THAT RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1978 WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL, SINCE FAILURE WOULD RESULT IN VIOLENT TRANSFER OF POWER TO MAJORITY RULE. HE RESTATED UK'S LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR OVERALL CONTROL OF DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION AND FOR JUDGMENT ON FORM OF CONSTITUTION MOST ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. UK PRECONDITIONS FOR FUTURE CONSTITUTION REMAINED DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, BILL OF RIGHTS AND INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR CARETAKER GOVERNMENT TO SUPERVISE ELECTIONS AND PROVIDE LAW AND ORDER IN TRANSITION PERIOD.

2. RICHARD REAFFIRMED POSITION THAT NEW ZIMBABWE ARMED FORCES MUST BE BASED ON THOSE OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT BUT REJECTED DIRECT TRANSFER OF POWER TO PATRIOTIC FRONT SINCE THIS WOULD DISREGARD "UNITED NATIONS CALL FOR ADMINISTERING POWERS TO ASSUME ITS AUTHORITY." HE STATED UK WOULD ASK SECURITY COUNCIL TO ASK UNSYG TO INSTALL UN FORCE AFTER CEASEFIRE AND AGREEMENT ON ELECTIONS. UK DID NOT INTEND TO ASK UN TO ESTABLISH PRESENCE WHICH MIGHT FIND ITSELF IN CONFLICT WITH ONE OR MORE PARTIES.

3. RICHARD STATED UK POLICY ON SANCTIONS WAS THAT HMG WISHED SANCTIONS CONTINUED AT THEIR FULL PRESENT VIGOR, BUT DID NOT FAVOR THE EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS AT THIS
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TIME TO SOUTH AFRICA. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, MATTERS SHOULD SO DEVELOP AS TO REQUIRE EXTENSION OF SANCTIONS OR CONSTRAINTS TO SOUTH AFRICA IN THE CONTEXT OF HER RHODESIAN POLICY, THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED AND CAREFULLY JUDGED AT THE TIME.

4. RICHARD STATED THOSE WHO HAD TAKEN UP ARMS HAD ESTABLISHED UNDENIABLE CLAIM TO VOICE IN FRAMING TERMS OF EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT BUT THAT THEIR DEGREE OF POPULAR SUPPORT WITHIN RHODESIA WAS UNCLEAR TO HMG.

5. RICHARD STATED CARVER MISSION HAD USEFULLY IDENTIFIED SPECIFIC PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE PARTIES AND HAD CLEARED UP A NUMBER OF MISCONCEPTIONS. HE CATEGORIZED REPORTS OF "FAILURE" OF US/US PROPOSALS AS MERELY NEGOTIATION POSTURES OF SMITH AND OTHER CONCERNED PARTIES.

6. RE SMITH INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS, RICHARD SAID THAT HMG REMAINED CAUTIOUS OF SMITH PROPOSALS AND AWAITED "FINE PRINT" BEFORE MAKING JUDGMENT. ANY SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD BE JUDGED ON THEIR ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLES

OF US/UK PROPOSALS.

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 5126

7. SECOND SPEAKER OF DAY WAS ZANU "CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE TO THE US," TIRIVAFI J. KANGAI ON BEHALF OF PATRIOTIC FRONT. KANGAI STATED PF HAD RESORTED TO ARMED VIOLENCE AFTER EXHAUSTING ALL OTHER MEANS AND PF HELD MILITARY UPPER HAND IN RHODESIA. STRUGGLE IN RHODESIA WAS NOT RACIAL CONFRONTATION, BUT RATHER ONE BETWEEN EXPLOITED AND EXPLITERS.

8. KANGAI STATED PRIMARY PURPOSE OF UK/US INITIATIVES WAS TO MAINTAIN WESTERN ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL INTERESTS BY INSTALLING PUPPET REGIME. PF DID NOT ACCEPT DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT IN DECOLONIZATION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA. US HAD NO CONSTITUTIONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SHOULD NOT CO-CHAIR ANY CONFERENCES. ANY SETTLEMENT HAD TO BE BETWEEN HMG AND PF. USG WAS BENEFICIARY OF STATUS QUO IN RHODESIA AND WAS INCAPABLE OF PRODUCING ACCEPTABLE FORMULA BECAUSE OF US CORPORATE INTERESTS. US COMPANIES
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HAD BEEN TRADING WITH RHODESIA, US HAD NOT ABIDED BY MAPUTO DECLARATION (RHODESIA INFORMATION OFFICER), AND US WISHED TO REPLACE UK IN EXPLOITING PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. US INVOLVEMENT INTERNATIONALIZED ZIMBABWE PROBLEM, THUS CAUSING SUPERPOWER CONFLICT IN THE REGIME.

9. RE "BRITISH PROPOSALS", KANGAI REJECTED TRANSFER OF POWER TO ALL POWERFUL COLONIAL ADMINISTRATOR, ROLE OF POLICE, AND CONCEPT OF UN FORCE, HE RECALLED PAST FAILURES OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES (CONGO, CYPRUS, KOREA, MIDDLE EAST) AND STATED PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE SHOULD BE THEIR OWN PEACEKEEPERS. ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND CHARACTERIZED AS ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE IN ADVANCE THE CHARACTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FUTURE STATE. WHILE PF WILLING TO NEGOTIATE, IT WOULD NOT ACCEPT CEASEFIRE UNTIL IT KNEW ROLE IT WAS TO PLAY IN TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AND UNTIL ENEMY FORCES DISMANTLED.

10. KANGAI CALLED FOR INTENSIFICATION OF SANCTIONS, AND CONDEMNED CONTINUED ACTS OF AGGRESSION ON AFRICAN STATES AND ZIMBABWE "REFUGEE CAMPS." THESE ATTACKS WERE SUPPORTED BY SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES WHICH SUPPLIED SMITH REGIME WITH OIL, WEAPONS, AND MANPOWER.

11. KANGAI DENOUNCED SMITH INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL AS ATTEMPT TO PROVOKE CIVIL WAR. PF WISHED TO WARN SMITH, HIS SUPPORTERS ABROAD, AND PUPPETS THAT THOSE WHO STOOD IN THE WAY OF THE PEOPLES REVOLUTION WOULD BE CRUSHED. THERE WOULD BE NO SOLUTION IN ZIMBABWE, HE SAID, UNTIL TOTAL POWER WAS SURRENDERED TO PF FORCES.

12. COMMITTEE THEN ADDRESSED BY REVEREND MICHAEL SCOTT OF INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR RIGHTS OF MAN. SCOTT CALLED CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR: A) UN SUPPORT OF LEGAL TEST CASE NOW BEFORE UK COURT (MUCASSA CASE); B) CLARIFIED MANDATE FOR UNHCR FOR REFUGEES WITH RESPECT TO ZIMBABWE REFUGEES, AND C) UN INVESTIGATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN COLLUSION WITH RHODESIA.

13. FINAL SPEAKER OF DAY WAS HASLEMERE GROUP'S BERNARD RIVERS WHO REITERATED MUCH OF HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE UN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE. RIVERS STATED: A) WESTERN SUBSIDIARIES STILL PROVIDING OIL TO RHODESIA, B) OIL SUPPLY ARRANGEMENTS WERE NOW MORE BLATANTLY OPEN, C) IN AT LEAST ONE CASE PARENT COMPANY WAS FULLY INFORMED OF ITS SUBSIDIARIES ACTIONS, AND D) THAT ONE OR MORE PARENT COMPANIES HAS DELIVERED OPEC OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA WHICH HAD THEN BEEN

DIVERTED TO RHODESIA. HE CALLED FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTION OF RESOLUTIONS EXTENDING NATIONAL SANCTIONS LEGISLATION TO INCLUDE SUBSIDIARIES IN SOUTH AFRICA (INDIAN RESOLUTION) AND OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA (BENIN RESOLUTION).

14. RIVERS NOTED UK HAD SUPPORTED EMBARGO CONCEPT AT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE AND QUOTED EARLIER US STATEMENT BEFORE FOURTH COMMITTEE THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS STALLED OR FAILED, US PREPARED TO TAKE THOSE STEPS AND PARTICIPATE IN THOSE MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO SECURE FULL COOPERATION OF ALL PARTIES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS. INSOFAR AS UK/US INITIATIVE HAD BEEN REJECTED BY SMITH AND WAS NOW "DEAD", IT WAS APPROPRIATE MOMENT FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. END UNCLASSIFIED.

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COMMENT: PF STATEMENT INTERESTING INSOFAR AS IT ATTACKED US ROLE IN RHODESIA AND NEGOTIATIONS WHILE VIRTUALLY IGNORING UK ROLE. RIVERS STATEMENT WAS WELL RECEIVED BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS, WHO MADE SCRAMBLE TO OBTAIN COPIES OF HIS TESTIMONY. RIVERS PRESENTATION OF TECHNICAL
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DATE, AS USUAL APPEARED WELL-RESEARCHED, OBJECTIVE AND FACTUAL AND WILL HAVE ITS INFLUENCE AS THE RESOLUTIONS ON RHODESIA TAKE SHAPE. WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT RIVERS INCREASING TENDENCY TOWARD POLITICAL OPINION, SINCE HIS ECONOMIC RESEARCH HAS GIVEN HIM CONSIDERABLE CREDIBILITY HERE. REGARDING RICHARD STATEMENT, MISSION IS SLIGHTLY SURPRISED AT THE RELATIVELY POLITE ETREATMENT GIVEN THE SMITH PROPOSAL. IT SEEMS TO US THAT RICHARD LEFT DOOR OPEN JUST A BIT MORE THAN THE CRACK WE EXPECTED.
END CONFIDENTIAL
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Message Attributes

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